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S. Deger-Jalkotzy – I. Lemos (eds.)

Ancient Greece. From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer

Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3 (Edinburgh 2006)

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ANCIENT GREECE

From the Mycenaean Palaces
to the Age of Homer



Edited by
Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos

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ANCIENT GREECE: FROM THE MYCENAEAN PALACES TO THE AGE OF HOMER

Edited by
Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Contributed Works

Aegean and the Orient

Cline, E. H. and Harris-Cline, D. (eds) (1998), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium BC: Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium, Cincinnati, 18–20 April 1997 (Aegaeum 18)*, Liège and Austin: Université de Liège and University of Texas at Austin.

Ages of Homer

Carter, J. B. and Morris, S. P. (eds) (1995), *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin: University of Texas Press.

A-NA-QO-TA

Bennet, J. and Driessen, J. (eds) (1998–99), *A-NA-QO-TA: Studies Presented to J. T. Killen (Minos 33–34)*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Archaic Greece

Fisher, N. and van Wees, H. (eds) (1998), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, London: Duckworth.

Celebrations of Death

Hägg, R. and Nordquist, G. C. (eds) (1990), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens*, Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.

Chronology and Synchronisms

Deger-Jalkotzy, S. and Zavadil, M. (eds) (2003), *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms: Proceedings of the International Workshop Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, May 7th and 8th, 2001*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Colloquium Mycenaeum

Risch, E. and Mühlestein, H. (eds) (1979), *Colloquium Mycenaeum: Actes du sixième Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel du 7 au 13 septembre 1975*, Neuchâtel et Genève: Faculté des lettres, Neuchâtel, et Librairie Droz.

Crisis Years

Ward, W. A. and Sharp Joukowsky, M. (eds) (1992), *The Crisis Years: The*

12th Century B.C.: From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris, Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.

Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete

Karageorghis, V. and Stampolidis, N. (eds) (1998), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th–6th cent. B.C.: Proceedings of the International Symposium Rethymnon, 13–16 May 1997*, Athens: University of Crete and A. G. Leventis Foundation.

Cyprus 11th Century

Karageorghis, V. (ed.) (1994), *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C.: Proceedings of the International Symposium, Nicosia 30–31 October 1993*, Nicosia: University of Cyprus and A. G. Leventis Foundation.

Defensive Settlements

Karageorghis, V. and Morris, Chr. E. (eds) (2001), *Defensive Settlements of the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean after c.1200 B.C.: Proceedings of an International Workshop Held at Trinity College Dublin, 7th–9th May, 1999*, Nicosia: Trinity College Dublin and A. G. Leventis Foundation.

Early Greek Cult Practice

Hägg, R., Marinatos, N. and Nordquist, G. C. (eds) (1988), *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June, 1986*, Stockholm: Paul Åströms Förlag.

Economy and Politics

Voutsaki, S. and Killen, J. (eds) (2001), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States: Proceedings of a Conference held on 1–3 July 1999 in the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge*, Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.

Euboica

Bats, M. and D'Agostino, B. (eds) (1998), *Euboica: L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*, Napoli: Centre Jean Bérard and Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Floreat Studia Mycenaea

Deger-Jalkotzy, S., Hiller, S. and Panagl, O. (eds), (1999), *Floreat Studia Mycenaea, Akten des X Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1–5 Mai 1995 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 274)*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Forschungen in der Peloponnes

Mitsopoulos-Leon, V. (ed.) (2001), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes: Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier '100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen', Athen 5.3.–7.3.1998*, Athens: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.

Fortetsa

Brock, J. K. (1957), *Fortetsa: Early Greek Tombs near Knossos (BSA Supplementary Volume 2)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Greek Renaissance

Hägg, R. (ed.) (1983), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century BC: Tradition and Innovation: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June, 1981*, Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens.

Greek Sanctuaries

Marinatos, N. and Hägg, R. (eds) (1993), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*, London/New York: Routledge.

Homeric Questions

Crielaard, J. P. (ed.) (1995), *Homeric Questions: Essays in Philology, Ancient History and Archaeology, Including the Papers of a Conference Organised by the Netherlands Institute at Athens*, Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.

Isthmia

Morgan, C. (1999), *Isthmia VIII: The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary*, American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Princeton University Press.

Italy and Cyprus

Bonfante, L. and Karageorghis, V. (eds) (2001), *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity 1500–450 B.C.: Proceedings of an International Symposium Held at the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University, November 16–18, 2000*, Nicosia: C. and L. Severis Foundation.

Knossos North Cemetery

Coldstream, J. N. and Catling, H. W. (eds) (1996), *Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs (British School at Athens Supplementary Volume 28)*, London: The British School at Athens.

Laconia Survey

Cavanagh, W., Crouwel, J., Catling, R. W. V. and Shipley, G. (eds) (2002), *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey, Vol. 1: Methodology and Interpretation*, London: The British School at Athens.

La Crète mycénienne

Driessen, J. and Farnoux, A. (eds) (1997), *La Crète mycénienne: Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'École française d'Athènes (BCH Suppl. 30)*, Athènes: École française d'Athènes.

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AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>
AD	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
AE	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς</i>
AION, ArchStAnt	<i>Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli)</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AM	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen</i>
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
AR	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene</i>
AWE	<i>Ancient West & East</i>
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
BSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
CCEC	<i>Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes</i>
DdA	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i>
Ergon	<i>Το Έργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JFA	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JMA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>

<i>JRGZM</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>KCh</i>	<i>Κρητικά Χρονικά</i>
<i>MeditArch</i>	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
<i>OpRom</i>	<i>Opuscula Romana</i>
<i>PAE</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>QuadAEI</i>	<i>Quaderni di Archeologia Etrusco-Italica</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
<i>RendLinc</i>	<i>Rendiconti, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i>
<i>RendPont</i>	<i>Rendiconti, Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia</i>
<i>RM</i>	<i>Römische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>RP</i>	<i>Révue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i>
<i>RSF</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>

4. Other Abbreviations

LBA	Late Bronze Age
EIA	Early Iron Age
EH	Early Helladic
MH	Middle Helladic
LH	Late Helladic
EM	Early Minoan
MM	Middle Minoan
LM	Late Minoan
SM	Sub-Mycenaean
SMin	Sub-Minoan
PG	Protogeometric
EPG	Early Protogeometric
MPG	Middle Protogeometric
LPG	Late Protogeometric
SPG	Sub-Protogeometric
G	Geometric
EG	Early Geometric
MG	Middle Geometric
LG	Late Geometric

In memory of Dinos Leventis, classicist and patron of Greek studies

INTRODUCTION

Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos

Supplied by the generosity of the A. G. Leventis Foundation the Third A. G. Leventis Conference 'From *wanax* to *basileus*' was organised by Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene S. Lemos at the University of Edinburgh, 22–25 January 2003. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy was at the time the third Leventis Visiting Professor. The subject of the conference was chosen first because the research interests of the organisers focus on the centuries between the collapse of the Mycenaean palace states (c.1200 BC) and the beginning of the archaic period of Ancient Greece (c.700 BC) which until recently have been called 'The Dark Age of Greece'. The term is still used by classical archaeologists, ancient historians and linguists, as well as by scholars of adjacent fields such as Near Eastern studies and European Prehistory. The second reason for organising this conference was the fact that many significant discoveries made during recent decades together with new approaches and intensive research on various aspects of cultural developments require a fresh and comprehensive revision of the period. Obviously the new state of research has rendered the term of a 'Dark Age of Greece' highly questionable. Yet since the seminal surveys by A. Snodgrass, V. Desborough and F. Schachermeyr no monographic treatment covering the entire period and all its cultural aspects and developments has been published. The organisers felt that it might not be possible any longer for a single author to perform such a task. Therefore distinguished scholars from all over the world were invited to gather in Edinburgh in order to re-examine old and new evidence on the period. The subjects of their papers were chosen in advance so that taken together they would cover the field with an interdisciplinary perspective, approaching the period under consideration from various disciplines.

On these premises the papers cover a wide range of themes. They compare, as well as contrast, aspects of the Mycenaean palace system with the political and social structures emerging after its collapse. Archaeological papers are offered by scholars who have been working and specializing in specific areas of Greece, a number of whom are involved with sites which have changed the study of the period, such as Lefkandi, Knossos, Dimini and regions such as central and western Greece. There are moreover studies of the linguistic developments of

Linear B texts as well as on the dialects of Greek and on the developments of early Greek oral poetry including the Homeric epics.

The themes and subjects of this book are divided into six groups.

Political and social structures are covered by papers focusing on political, administrative and social organisations. On the one hand the origin and development of Mycenaean palatial architecture and of the 'megaron' in particular are covered, and the recent results of research on the Linear B texts are presented. On the other hand there are papers dealing with the social and political structures referred to in the Homeric epics. It is clear from these contributions that Homeric terms were used in a fundamentally different way from those of the Mycenaean palace organisation, even if certain titles and technical terms survived. Sadly, it was not possible to include the full text of Walter Donlan's presentation, but a summary is given in chapter 6.

The second group of papers is dedicated to questions of continuity, discontinuity and transformation between the Mycenaean Palace Period and its aftermath. This group starts with the Late Helladic IIIC period which followed immediately after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. It is now assumed that this period – though still Mycenaean in character – played a major role in the transformation of the Mycenaean cultural heritage. Papers in this section deal with LH IIIC domestic architecture, tombs and symbolism as testimonies to the transformation of the Mycenaean concept of elites and rulers. At the same time they discuss architectural features and their importance in elucidating differences and similarities in the political and social structures of both periods. The transmission of Mycenaean skills of metalwork and the technological achievements of the post-Mycenaean periods are also taken into consideration, and it is considered to what extent survivals ought to be seen in terms of a transformational process rather than as testimonies to cultural continuity. The last paper outlines the various forms of state formation during the Early Iron Age and especially the importance of the role played by *ethne* in such developments.

Papers in the section on international and inter-regional relations reveal that there was a fundamental change of patterns in inter-regional exchanges after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces. In this context, aspects of gift exchange in the Homeric epics and a critique of modern theories and their use or abuse of certain Homeric terms are also examined. Links with the western and eastern Mediterranean during the palace period and afterwards are investigated, and the important role in the exchange network of the Early Iron Age played by the Phoenicians is pointed out. The paper delivered at the conference by Christopher Mee covering the area of diplomatic relationships and exchange of goods between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age is not included in this book. He had submitted a similar version of his paper to the forthcoming *Companion to the Bronze Age* edited by Cynthia W. Shelmerdine.

Fortunately, this topic has been covered by a fair number of conferences and studies of specific aspects.¹

The papers referring to religion and hero cult suggest that there was no connection between the hero cults of the archaic period and the concept of divine kingship during the Mycenaean palace period. Instead, a wider perspective of hero cult, religion and political leadership during the Early Iron Age is offered. As a particular case, aspects of continuity and discontinuity in Cretan religious practice from L(ate) M(inoan) III C to the end of the Protogeometric period are discussed, including warrior rites in Protogeometric Crete.

The section on the Homeric epics and heroic poetry *per definitionem* covers linguistic and philological investigations. Papers deal with the linguistic developments in Homer and the impact of oral poetry on the composition of the Homeric epics. Moreover, the use of the Homeric epics as a historical source is also addressed.

Finally, the archaeology of Greek regions is covered by papers offering summaries of recent discoveries and comprehensive surveys on important regions and areas. The importance of these contributions lies not only in the presentation of recently discovered archaeological material but also in the fact that various aspects and regions are introduced by specialists of the period and often by directors of major archaeological sites.

Considering the wide range of subjects covered in an interdisciplinary fashion, the editors are confident that the Proceedings of the Third Leventis Conference of 2003 in Edinburgh will provide an essential and fundamental source of reference on the later phases of the Mycenaean and the Early Iron Ages of Greece for many years.

Finally, it is our pleasant duty to acknowledge the support and help of the following institutions and individuals. Above all, our thanks are due to the A. G. Leventis Foundation and Mr George David for the generous financial support for the conference and the publication of the proceedings. Our gratitude also extends to the University of Edinburgh and to the then Head of Classics, Professor Keith Rutter, who kindly helped with the editorial work. Carol Macdonald and especially James Dale of the Edinburgh University Press were most helpful throughout the production of this volume. We owe them many thanks.

1 Most recently the subject has been covered by a number of publications such as: Gale, N. H. (ed.) (1991), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean: Papers Presented at the Conference Held at Rewley House, Oxford, in December 1989*, Jonsered: Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90, Åström; Cline, *Wine-Dark Sea*; Vivian Davies, W. and Schofield, L. (eds) (1995), *Egypt, The Aegean and the Levant, Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC*, London: British Museum Press; Cline, E. H. and Harris-Cline, D. (eds) (1998), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium: Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium Cincinnati, 18–20 April 1997*, Liège and Austin Texas: Aegaeum 18; Stambolidis, N. C. and Karageorghis, V. (eds) (2003), *Ploes: Sea Routes – Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th–6th c.BC. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Rethymnon, Crete, September 29th–October 2nd 2002*, Athens: University of Crete and A. G. Leventis Foundation.